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586
177 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184
614 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174]
52a
[178]
[611]
[554] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

[584]
[421] However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says
[756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid.
[278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Al-
[797] though these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some-
848 what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are sometimes punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand,
[593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Iḥaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of
[587] the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
[184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood
[759] and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
● [584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⴰⵎⵓⵔ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⴻⵔⵀⵉ , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⵎⵣⴰⴷ , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵜⵣⵉⵡ , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjeṯhé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⴻⵜⵀⴻ , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

Chapter IV

Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵍ , plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴻⵏ.

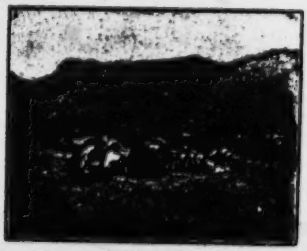
/7/

4: Benhazera--5 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other, and the ahal begins right after sunset. 533 584 832 [361]

The men of the camps gather with those who have come especially because some woman attracts them. The women bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows, all attend the ahal. [602]

[361]



Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵄⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of showing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of him. [577] [626]

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

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[576]

la'lkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" /|ξ ⊙ rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Ta'ltoq.

The "ahinena". /|ξ ⁝ rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher'" ⁝ ⊙ rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

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Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

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[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Tathett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman," and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj ###
(from ez'edj ## , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 598]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ , is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴱⵏ or "tedlout" ⵜⴰⵜⵍⵓⵜ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p. 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-scale raiding.

526 /141 cont./ The young Tuareg dress very carefully, /142/ each showing great fastidiousness. The camel is decked out as richly as possible. Half of the riders line up about 50 meters from the tendi, and the other half at an equal distance on the other side of the tendi. The Tuareg ride from one line to the other in pairs; each Targui watches his bearing, holding himself straight but supple, makes his mount hold its head as high as possible and keeps it abreast of its neighbor, making it trot with the gait called senat-senat or kibarat.

Quitting this back-and-forth movement, a group of riders circles the tendi as close as possible to the women; one of the Tuareg seizes one of the singers' alechou and rides off furiously, whipping his mount. His friends chase him, trying to take the veil from him. The one who succeeds in recapturing it takes it back, as victor, to its owner. He is saluted with tarallélit (the you-you of the Moors). The ilougan lasts until nightfall.

[177] It must be noted that the tendi did not originate in the Ahaggar; it was imported from the Adrar des Iforas and from Tamesna.

• 584 A gathering native to the Ahaggar is the assihar. A great number of men and women gather around a famous woman imzad player. They listen to the violin, which begins the first measures of a familiar song, then a man or a woman begins to sing. Between songs conversations are held, and flirtations begin in the darkness, but within the strictest bounds of propriety.

When the assihar ends late at night, young men and women go off in small groups; this is the ahal. A woman escorted by two or three young men goes to sit by a bend in a wadi. Her companions speak to her aloud when the conversation is for all ears or very softly in the ear when there are confidences to make. One of them takes the young woman's hand and holds it in his; an old Targui said: "I once held the hand of the woman I desired for three straight nights, and for three days I did not eat."

584 /143/ There is a language of the hands which supplements the conversation of the ahal; here are several examples. Having taken the woman's hand with fingers interlocked, to place one's thumb against the end of her thumb means: "I desire you very much." To trace a circle in the palm of the hand, pressing the index finger in the center of the circle, is to ask for an intimate union. The woman thus solicited takes the hand of her suitor and traces a line with the back of her index finger going from the wrist toward the fingers, which means: "I refuse." But if having done this, she traces another one in the other direction, it means: "Leave with your friends and come back alone."

584 833 Once alone with his girl friend, the young Targui will continue to pay his court, sometimes platonic, often less so. Putting their faces together, nostril against nostril, they breathe together. This type of kiss is known for the mouth too but is little practiced. Manual caresses follow the kisses. The men often stop at this stage with virgins, for they know how to "recognize a virgin by her walk, her bearing, the firmness of her breasts, and the reflex of her Achilles tendon!" The Tuareg know other caresses which satisfy the senses but respect physical virginity.

838 It must be noted that homosexuality, male or female, is unknown among the Tuareg.

839 It is said that bestiality, although very rare, does exist; but supposedly it is practiced as a remedy for venereal diseases.

These sexual customs make it possible to understand the stability of the Tuareg, who, although Moslems, do not suffer from suppressed desires. Rape does not exist, and when a woman refuses a man, he never insists, nor will he show himself jealous of a more successful comrade. Let us add that they are absolutely discreet about their relations with women. It is in these manifestations of the intimate life that one sees the prestige enjoyed by the Tuareg woman.

584 /143 cont./ The day comes, rather late, toward the age of 25 generally, when the Targui thinks of getting married. He gets a member of his family to make the proposal. The messenger says to the /144/ father of the girl: "I would like a tent and an asaber." The father understands that his daughter is being asked in marriage by means of this metaphor. "Tidjera-ouet," he replies, to give his consent. Then begins the discussion of the bride price the suitor must give to the fiancée and of the amount of the gifts to the family. There is a scale of bride prices to be paid to the women, which vary according to the tribes they belong to.

To take a Kel Rela girl, seven female camels must be given to the young bride; a Dag Rali must receive three female camels; the other imrad got only one. The husband must furnish the tent. On the day of the marriage, a taleb /scribe/ or, in the absence of a taleb, the chief of the tribe records the husband's gifts, which are not necessarily made but which he recognizes as being owed.

585 Everything being in order, the marriage and the date of the ceremony are announced. An enormous meal, for which a camel and numerous goats have been slaughtered, is served to the guests. Tendi and ilougan continue without interruption.

At the spot where the young couple's tent will be put up, a large pile of sand is prepared. A woman of the bride's family sits on it, holding a club in her hands, then, lowering her head, rests her forehead on her joined hands. Two men take the half-rolled tent and throw it over the seated woman three times.

During the whole day, the bride-to-be stays in her parents' tent; the bridegroom talks to the old men of the camp and does not participate in the public merrymaking.

The tent of the future couple having been erected, the young man will spend a night in it alone, seated on the pile of sand, without sleeping; this tradition is particularly respected among the Kel Rela. The second night the girl will become

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.

683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at

233 436 682 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

Age		*Colour*	
10 *tilǧad*, or *chét awɣay*	(one year old)	10 *tibeyḍeɣin*	(white)
10 *tilusin*	(2 years old)	10 *titlaṛin*	(mahogany)
10 *teḳḳemíadden*	(3 years old)	10 *tizeggeṛin*	(reddish)
10 *tiṛuyar*	(4 years old)	10 *tibhawin*	(reddish brown)
10 *chét ezzin*	(5 years old)	10 *tilemlaṛin*	(grey)
10 *chét okkoẓ*	(6 years old)	10 *tizerífin*	(metallic grey)
10 *timesseḍas*	(7 years old)	10 *timeŋelin*	(dark grey)
10 *chét tahalt*	(8 years old)	10 *tikewelin*	(black)
20 *tireggamin*	(more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10 *tizerṛafin*	(piebald)
		10 *tiwinaṛin*	(white cornea)

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 545 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

602

(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

583

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:—

1 mat tent (*ẓhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*téḍabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*ṭebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another. 584 602

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking. 581

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather. 587

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.). 581 584

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted with cross-cousins.